

# PEACE NEWS

No. 308

MAY 8, 1942

2d.

## Illuminating

ELSTREE Parish Council has decided to make provision for full street lighting in their budget for the coming year. A good gesture, and a notable symbol. The Fighting Fund is our provision for full illumination.

I am glad to report that the small but steady upward turn in the Fund has maintained itself. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the many groups and individuals who have of late written to me expressing their appreciation of Peace News. Moreover, such criticism as has reached me has been generous, constructive and helpful. Thank you very much!

Contributions April 21 to May 4: £40 15s. 3d. Total to date: £3,415 11s. 4d.

## The Editor

Please make all cheques, P.O.s, and money orders for the Peace News fund payable to Peace News Ltd., and crossed "a/c Payee" and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## A Pacifist

## COMMENTARY

Edited by

OBSERVER

# This War Began 23 Years Ago!

says LAURENCE HOUSMAN

THE cause of war and the occasion of war are very seldom (probably never) the same. Yet those who believe in war as a remedy for wrong nearly always believe, or say that they believe, that the occasion is the cause.

It is so much easier and so much more comfortable for them to do so. The occasion for war is generally something spectacular, almost momentary. An event, or a quick succession of events, is what in popular belief (and the Governments are at great pains to make it popular) causes nations to go to war. And so it is not difficult for men of quite honest mind, who mistake the occasion of war for the cause of it, to believe that their cause is wholly just.

An act of aggression, a breach of neutrality, a broken treaty—there, plain as a pike-staff, a wrong has been done; and for the righting of

that wrong—for those who believe that only by violence can the wrong be remedied—war becomes just.

And for the average man in the street, and even for others more thoughtfully concerned over international relations, but unable to probe behind the scenes and the scene-shiftings where deeds of diplomacy are done in the dark, and democratic control does not operate; for these it is difficult if not impossible to estimate on which side lies the heavier responsibility for that which caused the outbreak, but was not the real cause of war.

## Why Wars Happen

One may class war-production (in the political sense) under three main heads—the root cause; the subsidiary cause or causes; and the occasion. And it is always the occasion—the least important—which looms largest

in the public mind; which provides the nation with the necessary sense of self-righteousness for accepting so atrocious a remedy for wrong done.

The subsidiary causes are less apparent; but by the thoughtful and the fairly intelligent, they can be recognized.

The twenty-one years between the end of the last war and the beginning of the present one provide an instance a combination of obstinately perpetrated blunders, of opportunities blindly lost, which were becoming more and more generally recognized, until the outbreak of war wiped out responsibility for them from the public mind, making it unpatriotic to stress or even to admit them.

But behind those blunders, and behind that series of lost opportunities which were the subsidiary cause of the occasion coming to a head, lay the root-cause.

Of that root-cause the subsidiary causes were but the logical product, because the politicians were too indifferent or too unwilling to make any real effort to remove it. And for that indifference and unwillingness the country had, and still has its share of responsibility—a responsibility which now it wishes to forget.

## The Root Cause

That responsibility is the more difficult to bring home because for so many, possibly for a majority, the root-cause of war was, and is still regarded, not as a fundamental wrong, but as a fundamental right—inseparable from a long-accepted process of national aggrandisement. "What we have we hold" might be one expression of it. "Devil take the hindmost" would quite truthfully be another; but the politicians would avoid so wording it; they would give its workings a more reputable sponsor. "Free Competition," or "the law of supply and demand," would sound better.

One notable authority has defined it as "Sacred Egoism," and because we happen to be at war with him and his country we deride the phrase and what in their case it stands for; but it is an honest phrase, though a mistaken one.

It stands very accurately for what in the past we have regarded as sacred—our own national aggrandisement at the expense of others.

## Versailles Again

Most, though not all, of the subsidiary causes of the present war had their origin twenty-three years ago in the Treaty of Versailles, truly a "house of cards"—not to say of "artful dodgers". Versailles was an elaborate contraption for preserving and perpetuating the root cause of war, by providing a whole bunch of subsidiary causes to prevent the next occasion for war from coming to a head and bursting upon us unexpectedly; and with the well-devised precaution that if it did, the providers of the subsidiary causes would still be masters of the situation.

Unfortunately, all those precautions have not merely failed to head off the occasion; they hastened it. And the public mind is still revelling in the idea that the root cause of this war is only about seven years old, dating from the rise of Hitler to power.

The "mills of God" grind much more slowly than that; and they grind exceedingly small.

(Continued on page 2)

# What the Conquest of Burma Means

THE Japanese conquest of Burma appears to have been yet another astonishing demonstration of their military skill. The speed of their sudden advance to Lashio, the terminus of the Burma Road, took even the more sober commentators by surprise. And it is now accepted that little short of a miracle can save either the British or the Chinese armies from capture.

President Roosevelt has assured the Chinese that a way will be found to keep them supplied. But since, admittedly, the only practicable way that now remains for major supplies is by air, the Chinese can hardly rely on the promise. Whether the disaster means that all effective resistance by China to Japan is now to be considered as ended, I do not presume to say. The newspapers are now silent on the matter. But, immediately before the capture of Lashio, the Daily Mail (Ap. 30) informed us:

The fall of this vital road-and-rail terminus would secure a double object. Not only could the Japanese cut the Burma road, but they could also separate the British and Chinese armies. This would mean the isolation of China and the retreat of our hard-pressed and heroic force into Assam.

China has been deprived of her chief source of oil-supplies by the destruction of the Burma wells, and for other weapons and materials she would have to rely on such stocks as could be spared by Russia. Thus the Great Chinese-Burmese-Indian front would be disrupted. We should lose China's man-power. China would lose the United Nations' machine-power.

## Peace-Feelers

THE peace-feelers from Germany through neutral countries which have been lately reported materialized (according to a Reuter message from Ankara, Mail, Ap. 30) in a document known as the "Goering memorandum" sent to Stockholm at the beginning of April for transmission to London. This is said to have proposed:

1. Britain and the United States to recognize German control in Europe. Germany would consider their suggestions for the application of the New Order.
  2. Germany to annex such Russian territories as are necessary to complete European living space.
  3. Germany to demand the greater part of the French, Belgian, and Dutch colonies. In return, Germany would undertake:
  4. To recognize the British Empire in its present form.
  5. To recognize the "control" of North America over South America.
  6. To collaborate in the setting up of a system of free trade between the three "empires."
- Finally, there is reference to the help Germany would be prepared to give in driving Japan back "to her natural limits."

The message ends rather curiously: "The proposals failed." That suggests they were at least considered.

## Crisis Year Recalled

WHEN I prophesied after the Grantham election that henceforward no Government seat was safe, I hardly thought that my prophecy would be so quickly justified. The Government defeats at Wallasey and Rugby by Mr. Reakes and Mr. W. J. Brown, are, in the literal sense, portentous. I disagree profoundly with Mr. W. J. Brown in his views about the war; but from the time of his participation in the "New Britain" movement I have recognized in him an able and independent political thinker, and one who realized, as few did, that in 1931 the fate of party government, on the old lines, was sealed: the party-machines were no longer capable of responding to the nation's necessities.

1931 was the crucial year. This war could have been prevented by an instructed and imaginative policy then. Europe was staggering under a universal economic disaster. The fateful question was: Would the way to recovery be sought through war-preparation, or through an advance by radical economic change at home and international co-operation? The political parties were oblivious of the crisis: Mr. Brown was at least aware of it.

## Unreal Opposition

BUT independent candidates who (like Mr. Brown) use the Second Front for their slogan are playing a dangerous game. They are using a false symbol to canalize the widespread dissatisfaction with the failure of the Government to win the war. But what on earth have they to offer as an alternative policy? Still more efficient organization or still more total war? When the fuel-rationing scheme alone has aroused more violent opposition than did the disaster of Singapore?

The Second Front is a form of wishful thinking: an evasion of the

realities which any genuine opponent of the Government should face. The connection between it and the rebellion against the party machines is provided by the assumption that if the party-machines were cleared out of the way, and the "best men" chosen, the war could be won. The present War Cabinet is (barring Mr. Attlee) precisely such a non-party selection of the "best men." Has it really made any difference? And how far can it be improved on?

## The Only Remedy

WHAT then is the conclusion? That independent candidates, if their frustration is not to be extreme, must be peace-candidates. The only way by which the creative purpose, which they inadequately represent, can be realized is by bringing this war to an end at the earliest possible opportunity. There is truly no escape.

The revolutionary will to peace at home and abroad which Britain lacked in 1931 will never be created by the negative process of exhausting and defensive war. The Second Front is the perverse and topsy-turvy acknowledgment of this. Offensive war, men dream, will be the remedy. They delude themselves. Revolutionary peace is the only remedy. Any peace will be revolutionary. This war derives directly from the 1931 slogan, "Your savings are in danger." Now they are lost—in the loss of Empire. Cut the loss, and get on with the job of building a new civilization in Britain.

## India and the War

THE rather complicated cross-currents of Indian Congress politics which I described last week are resolving themselves into formal terms. Rajagopalachari has resigned from the Working Committee. Pandit Nehru has, in up-to-date fashion, put forward a demand for a declaration of "non-belligerency." Mr. Gandhi has countered by a resolution that Congress should declare for neutrality in the war. But, in order to avoid a split, he has postponed the resolution to the next meeting of the Working Committee. Dr. Azad, Congress President, has unfurled a capacious flag (or blanket) by declaring: "Some aggressor nations have designs to fly their flags on our soil, but we



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The Only Way  
For India

THE one clear element in the confused and confusing situation in India is the attitude of Mr. Gandhi. He demands the complete independence of India in unequivocal terms. Let the British clear out, immediately, lock, stock and barrel. Let them leave to the Indians themselves the responsibility of their own defence, which will be non-violent: in other words, not defence at all, in the Western sense, but non-co-operation. He laughs at the guerilla warfare of which Pandit Nehru and Mr. Rajagopalachari are enamoured. "It will be," he says, "a nine days' wonder." After their temporary apostasy, he prophesies, they will return to non-violence, more convinced than before that it is the only way.

One feels a little sceptical of those who can adopt and repudiate, repudiate and adopt, non-violence in this bewildering way. And seeing that no-one has insisted more sternly than Gandhi that the only basis for true non-violence is religious conviction, it would appear that what he expects the two eminent Congress politicians to return to is not non-violence itself but rather an acceptance of the plain fact that guerilla warfare is a psychological and practical impossibility in India, and that the only way for Indians to resist the Japanese is by unarmed moral resistance: in fact, largely by ignoring them.

We should guess that the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee, comparing events in Burma with what is likely to happen in India, was a resolution in some such sense as this. That would account for the Government prohibiting the publication of the whole, or any part of the resolution. It would be regarded as a "defeatist" resolution: advocating non-co-operation with British and Japanese alike. That would be much more in accord with realities than the revolutionary romanticism of Nehru.

Rajagopalachari has been condemned by the Congress Working Committee for sponsoring a resolution by the Congressmen in the Madras legislature accepting the separation of "Pakistan"; he has apparently been also condemned by the rank and file of Congress for flirting with guerilla warfare. Nehru condemns him for the former, and supports him in the latter. Such seems to be the explanation of the queer incident when Nehru tried to dissolve a demonstration against Rajagopalachari, and was met with cries against himself.

The upshot of the whole tangled business is that Gandhi's influence is immensely strengthened; and that of the other two correspondingly weakened. Every pacifist can rejoice at that. We also in this country have had a rather trying experience of tactical "pacifists," though our situation is not to be compared with the Indian. There Gandhi is the great nationalist leader, as well as the great pacifist. In India the two things are perfectly compatible. In India, indeed, the combination is necessary, because the Indian masses are pacific at heart. And Congress, as always when it is being really tested, returns to Gandhi as its true leader. The ambitious dreams of the "politicians," of taking over the existing government of India, with all its military apparatus under the control of a British Commander-in-Chief, and continuing to wage the war, have come to grief, as it was plain they would. Indian nationalism, created by Gandhi, is a pacifist movement.

will prevent that even at the cost of our lives"—which covers non-violence and guerilla warfare, neutrality and non-belligerency. But behind it all is the reality of the Japanese successes in Burma, underlining Gandhi's assertion:

Guerilla warfare can take us nowhere. If it is practised on any large scale it must have disastrous consequences. If the whole nation takes to non-violent action it can be wholly successful.

## Non-Co-operation

THE actual resolution of the Congress Committee as published on May 2 covers the divergence of opinion on the principle of non-violence neatly and justifiably.

The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of that nation may be. In case invasion takes place, it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation, as the British Government has prevented the organization of national defence by the people in any other way.

What precisely we are to understand by non-violent non-co-operation in this context is not clear. For the statement goes on to say: "Not to put any obstacle in the way of the British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the invader." On the other hand, if the invader "wishes to take possession of our houses and our fields, we must refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist him."

This last seems to be grandiose talk. The Japanese invader would make no effort to take individual possession of the homes and fields of the Indian peasant, any more than the German invader has taken individual possession of the houses and fields of Frenchmen.

## "Did You Hear That?"

UNDER the above appropriate caption, The Listener (Ap. 30) reports a recent broadcast by Lord Simon. You have heard, he said, of President Roosevelt's "four freedoms."

But there is also a fifth freedom without which no country can truly claim to enjoy liberty. It is the freedom of every citizen, however poor, however unimportant, however unpopular, however wrong-headed, to appeal to the law and the courts to protect him from injury or insult, even though the wrong is committed by the misuse of official power. Some people are so ill-

## India Still for

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY  
(Continued from page one)

## Non-Violence

informed as to suppose that under the pressure of war-conditions the writ of Habeas Corpus has been suspended. That isn't so at all. If a man or woman is detained, a writ of Habeas Corpus will ascertain whether his detention is according to law, and if it is not according to law, the detained person is instantly released.

It sounds heavenly. What Lord Simon omitted to add was that the Law is such, in 18B and 2D, that it forbids recourse to due process of law. What Habeas Corpus enables the poor, uninfluential, unpopular and wrong-headed victims of these Regulations to ascertain is that there is a Law that prevents Habeas Corpus applying to them. Having discovered this, at the cost of a poor £1,000, they sing canticles in captivity to glorify their fifth freedom—the freedom to be assured by an independent judiciary that they have unfortunately lost it.

## School for Hatred

SOLDIERS themselves, I am glad to see, are protesting vigorously against the degrading methods of training officers in "the school of hate," of which a description was given in a repulsive broadcast on April 27. Blood is spattered, from cans, on the men as they bayonet the dummies. Visits to slaughterhouses are arranged for the purpose of witnessing killings. A "Trainer of Troops" writes:

This type of thing would be ridiculous if it were not degrading. That the authorities who have prescribed these antics should be so confused in their thinking as to suppose that the British soldier needs to cultivate blood-lust to enable him to face the horrors of the modern battlefield is a somewhat disturbing reflection. Sadists, like bullies, are usually also cowards in the last resort, and no amount of artificially induced "hate" will make them brave. It may well make them excitable and unreliable (Times, May 5).

And Brigadier-General Howard says that the broadcast indicates a dangerous hysteria and condemns the training as neurotic.

What is the use of hating one's enemy? Nothing wears one out so much as hate; and it is lasting power which is needed in war. Moreover, hate merely confuses the mind at a critical moment (Times, May 1).

## Pacifist Pamphlets

THERE have been a number of interesting pacifist pamphlets and books of late.

I record them in the order in which they made their appearance on my desk. First, "Why Blunder On?" by the Duke of Bedford (104 George St., Glasgow, 6d.); then, together, two PPU publications: "The International Balance-Sheet," by Wilfred Wellock, and "The Higher Retribution," by Vera Brittain; then, "Why Hitler?" by H. Runham Brown (WRI, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, 3d.); and last, but not least, "Community in a Changing World," edited by Leslie Stubbings (Community Service Committee, Chanceton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey, 3s. 6d.).

So far, I have been able to read only the Duke of Bedford's. It impresses me as a reasonable, lucid, and persuasive statement of a minimum programme of social, economic, and political reform on which men who are not ashamed to demand peace can agree. It is an effective counterblast to the folly of those who pretend to persuade themselves that a new and better social order can emerge after this war has been prosecuted to "victory."

## Worth Fighting For?

THE American Life (Mar. 16) throws a lurid sidelight on the Democracy and Four Freedoms for which the USA is fighting. It contains vivid pictures of a race-riot in Detroit. The Federal Government had built a block of decent houses for negro defence workers. The white workers, on moving day, surrounded the housing estate and made a violent attack on the incoming furniture vans and the negroes, whom they outnumbered by 700 to 300. Twenty persons were more or less seriously injured. The negro tenants, although they had paid their rent in advance, have had to go back to their slums.

It is no accident that the pictures show only negroes being man-handled by the police. The caption explicitly says: "Police devoted most attention to negroes, made no effort to open picket line for vans. Said one inspector: 'It would be suicide if we used our sticks on any of them'" (the whites).

## Who Wanted the War?

THE following note appeared in the Catholic Herald (Ap. 2):

"M. Benes made a startling admission in a speech the other day, according to the published reports, one of which was passed on to me by a friend. He said, according to this report: 'I myself desired that the war should have broken out in September, 1938, before Munich. I prepared for it, but the Western democracies were not prepared.'"

"There is nothing unworthy in this attitude, given the Nazi policy, but it is a trifle difficult to reconcile with the general view that everything possible was done to avoid the war that Hitler wanted. I note that a member in the House instanced the view of Peace News that partisans of Czechoslovakia helped to precipitate the war as a reason for its suppression. Peace News can quote Benes himself in self-defence."

CYRIL HUGHES asks

## Is Peace Offensive?

SOMETIMES, when I have nothing else to laugh at, I read a Sunday newspaper. And nearly always, when I do, I am told that Hitler is planning a "new peace offensive," which is to be launched at some date in the near future, and of which, on peril of my soul, I must beware.

I gather that the intention of the writers of these interesting pieces of information is that I should shudder with horror at the infamy of this creature Hitler in threatening to declare peace on us. If that is so, they fail lamentably.

In spite of the fact that I do not believe a word of what they tell me, I always feel slightly bucked when reading these rumours of peace, just as I feel irrationally cheered when my horoscope (in the same paper) tells me that I shall receive good news or financial advantage toward the end of the week. I don't believe that, either.

The obvious reason for the circulation of these particular canards is that public morale will be given a tonic. The impression is conveyed that Hitler is at his last gasp and, in order to avoid complete military collapse, seeks to make peace by bluff and trickery.

People, no doubt, did believe this once, just as they believed we should hang out our washing on the Siegfried Line. As a general rule, it is probably true that the British people will believe anything, provided it be sufficiently incredible.

But to swallow this story at the present moment, surely even that willing suspension of unbelief which in these days, apparently, constitutes democratic faith cannot be expected to rise to the heights demanded of it. Surveying the world scene today it is difficult for even the most Cairoesque of optimists to believe that Germany is looking for the

nearest peace-alley to crawl into before she falls to pieces.

★

THERE would seem, then, to be some other reason for the warnings against a peace invasion.

May it not be that it is felt that Hitler may after all use the deadly weapon of peace, not out of weakness, but out of imaginative strength? Attack peace beforehand, therefore, and spike Hitler's secret weapon before it is used, in addition, incidentally, to lumping with the enemy those sensible people in our own country who believe peace to be better than war.

On the face of it, the best reply to this weapon of Hitler's, if it is so deadly, would seem to be to use it ourselves first and seize the initiative for the first time in the war. But it seems that our rulers fear peace now more than anything, more than they fear defeat.

★

PEACE, in war time, is one of those unmentionable things that are worse than death. And people who talk of peace or are known to favour it are not quite nice to know.

That this attitude should be encouraged by the authorities is easy to understand. If people start thinking about peace in war-time they are, in the nature of things, likely to think more deeply about it than they do in peace-time.

Imminent death is a fine quickener of the senses. And nothing is more dangerous to a government in war time than that its people should think deeply about anything.

And if people begin to think deeply about

peace they soon see that the things which make for peace are not, after all, impossible of achievement; that the killing of Germans and Japs is the least likely method of achieving them; and that the motives of the Government in prosecuting the war have little to do with peace, justice, honour, or liberty.

Peace, in fact, is a full-time job. And the thinkers are coming to realize that, for something so ardently and universally desired, it is receiving a scurvily small amount of attention.

Certainly, there are different sorts of peace; but the idea of peace as such is the danger. If peace, of whatever brand, should occur, it would be very hard to start the war again. And, shorn of its fireworks, how poor a show our Government would then be seen to be!

How obvious, from the Government's point of view, therefore, to discredit peace beforehand by association it with the enemy and with doubtful sources.

Make peace offensive! And the great Sunday reading public falls for it.

★

SO we are confronted with the spectacle of a great people consciously or unconsciously desiring peace with every fibre of its being, yet setting its teeth and grimly preparing to resist the onslaught of the martial dove with all the strength of planes, tanks, guns and pikes at its command.

Possibly our civilization is engaged in storing up treasures of amusement for itself in heaven, if its bristling armour ever allows it to pass through the gates.

Certainly posterity, if there is any, should get a good laugh at our expense.

But it would be better for us if this policy of picketing the stable door to prevent a horse, which we all want, from breaking in were to cause a healthy guffaw or two now.

Laughter is a grand healer. And our times are mortally sick of the lack of it.

We can at least await with interest the next Teutonic shade of peace, and speculate on its reality in terms of unsacrificed lives or conquered territory.

Peace has a connotation urgent of much discussion. But it is safe to say that if (however unlikely it may be) Hitler offers us peace again it will be the sanest thing he has done in this war; and it would be the only sane thing we have done if we accepted it.



**THE** basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.**

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

**PPU HEADQUARTERS,**  
Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## Mind the Gap!

By JOHN BARCLAY

SO many problems might be solved if we had overcome that most difficult of all problems—communal living. All kinds of experiments are in process from small income-pooling groups to the more complex agricultural and educational units.

There is a danger that one-half of the pacifist movement may live in ignorance of what the other half is doing, and for the sake of even development there must be sympathetic understanding between all sections. Any community that ends in failure affects a far greater number of persons adversely than are influenced favourably by the slow progress of the larger number that succeed. For this reason it is important that every working community should be in touch with the main line of pacifist development and whenever possible its members should be members also of a nearby group.

### ELMSETT EXAMPLE

Quite recently I have visited several such communities. One of the earliest pioneers of purely PPU extraction was Edmund Cockledge, who founded the Elmsett Community near Ipswich. After many ups and downs, including a division into two camps, the present fellowship is now reorganised on a basis of farming and has developed cultural activities, including lectures on music, psychology, and archaeology, as well as a visiting lecturer from the NCLC. This cultural activity is not peculiar to Elmsett, but there is a very close link with the local group in Ipswich and a growing desire among the nine members of the community to pull their weight in area development.

It is not every pacifist who is capable or eager to adopt so difficult a way of life as is demanded by community living, nor, unfortunately, are all communities willing to maintain contact with the wider movement. In 1918 I was one of those who took part in the fatal March Retreat which was made disastrous by the gradually widening gap between the French and our 5th Army. Let us see to it that no such gap appears between two sections of the pacifist movement.

### HOW TO REDUCE MORAL

"If American soldiers started cutting off the heads of Japanese soldiers," declares a message from New York State, "then the moral of the Japanese troops going into battle would deteriorate rapidly," according to Mr. George Wong, secretary of the Chinese Benevolent Association in Buffalo, N.Y.

On the whole we are inclined to think that Mr. Wong has undoubtedly got hold of a good idea; we feel that our own moral would be notably diminished if anybody started cutting our heads off. Indeed, we should still consider that the operation had much in common with an unfriendly act, even if it were performed by the secretary of the Chinese Benevolent Association himself.

"Lucio," in the Manchester Guardian, Ap. 21.

## PEACE BY NEGOTIATION

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THE PPU, Dr. ALEX  
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# DAVID and GOLIATH

**I**T is no part of pacifist tactics to sabotage what is being done; nor does the pacifist usefully employ his time trying to convert the public to an acceptance of pacifism as a national policy.

To do so is to pit oneself against the tremendous weight of the war machine and to invite an immediate but useless martyrdom for which there will not even be a posthumous VC.

How, then, can the pacifist match himself against the mighty horror of war and the tragic decline of truth, honesty, and humanity which go inevitably with the organization of war? For the purpose of war is to win by any means, while the purpose of pacifism is to preserve, by any means, the true ideals and humanities which must be lost in war, whoever wins.

We may say we are not concerned with victory or defeat, but we cannot be entirely indifferent, and we cannot deny that we are in debt to those who brave the perils of war to maintain our lives.

We do not will it, and most of us have spent years trying to avert that risk from them; but we cannot fail to see it or respect it now.

So we must make our own contribution. It is a genuine contribution, and the only possible one—to do our part in preserving those true human standards which the warmakers promise but which war cannot bring.

### CHALLENGE OF FAMINE

First, the challenge of the starving. The pacifists launched the campaign and are glad that the press and public now lend support to it.

This support is inadequate and the whole national campaign is concentrated on Greece as a suffering ally. True humanity makes no distinctions in such sufferings; and the needs of

France and Belgium are as urgent as those of Greece.

Fine points of strategy should not enter into the consideration of such an appeal. Indeed, to the non-military mind it would appear that food sent from Britain to Belgium would be a matter of good tactics as well as common decency.

We are told that starving Belgians rejoice when our bombers come, but surely they would rejoice more truly if we brought bread instead of bombs.

It can be done if the will is there. We have the will and some of us would go out and do the work too (for we are neutrals) if given the chance. We should not slacken until we have translated ours into the national will in this matter.

### OTHER OPPORTUNITIES

But at the same time the intensity of suffering abroad, now extreme and therefore demanding first attention, must not, as has so often happened, blind us to opportunities nearer home for our service and for those exemplary acts which should come to us naturally but are none the worse if they demand a conscious effort.

We are in the throes of total war plus temporary prosperity, and there does not appear to be serious need at the moment. Perhaps there is not; but the future will be dark.

Meantime hospitals and prisons, evacuees and refugees still provide their problems, their anxieties and their sufferings, which some of us must help to meet.

The imprisonment of a few hun-

Being the conclusion  
of an article entitled  
"Jam Tomorrow?"

by

FRANK DAWTRY

dred COs has aroused concern and interest, particularly in the matter of prison treatment and reform. There has been a natural concern for the welfare of our COs and a general desire to help them, to give them consolation and strength in their imprisonment.

But their experiences and needs have been suffered for years by the many victims of our pernicious social system.

The most hardened of the few real criminals in our 9/10,000 prison population are still human beings and still in need of our help, advice and friendship. So are all the other victims of conditions which make for war or have their roots in war.

Pacifism in service to humanity, without too many fine distinctions about the origin of the needs we would try to meet, is a pacifism which will preserve a true concern for human needs.

### FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Liberty and freedom, the abstract essentials of life, are no less in our hands. We shall find in total war no simple line-up on the side of liberty in our press or our politicians.

A Garvin resigning his life's work for a principle, whatever the details of the Astorian dispute, is struggling as truly for the preservation of liberty as is the humblest unknown CO who goes alone and unsupported through ridicule to prison.

Liberty however is useless if claimed for ourselves alone. Many of us have worked and preached for the liberty of India. Now, a vestige of that with yet another promise of jam tomorrow has been offered too late.

We may welcome even that, but remembering that it was offered only as a grudging bribe to purchase support for the war, we could not hope for much and must not let such a concession be confused with the real education and service which we should offer with the true liberty of self-determination.

My own belief is that a war-wrung concession will do no more for Indian liberty than the war will do for human liberty in general.

### WICKEDNESS RIFE

The world is riven with wickedness and terror, with a ruthlessness which stamps down righteousness, with a slackening of morals, a lowering of human standards, a coarsening of life and a belief and glorification of violence.

We can firmly stand up to it all. Some will serve, some will suffer, some will set up their islands of the new world in community, others will feel that they must not leave the main stream of life.

Communities and committees, policies and politics, organization and development, fit into their small though necessary places if we remain loyal to the greater ideal whenever we have the chance to express it.

Vague... airy... meaningless?

Only if we are content to let it be so. We have a task calling for blood, toil, tears and sweat equally with that of war, and perhaps for even greater toil of the spirit to survive both vicious and ignorant misunderstanding, and our heart-tearing disappointment with some of those we hoped would share our task.

Let there be no trial of conscience amongst ourselves. The moment demands unity and humanity in our small minority which holds the truly sacred trust for a future greater and wider human life.

The report of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship for 1941 records an increase in total membership from 1,724 to 1,802, in spite of 27 resignations. The Secretary, the Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, 21 Cambridge Drive, Denton, Manchester, asks all Baptist pacifists to get in touch with him.

### A People's Runnymede

To the Editor of Peace News

On reading your review of my book "A People's Runnymede" in which your reviewer suggests that I pass lightly over the problem of public apathy, I should like to draw your attention to p. 153 where I say:

"The policy of action which has been outlined requires the reformer to take up large-scale organizing. In comparison, the task of drawing up a plan of reform is easy and pleasant. Those who will take up the difficult and often disappointing task of awakening public opinion, do so. Those who prefer something easier usually sit down in their chairs and plan."

I nowhere claim that apathy can be broken except by hard work including door to door visiting by the active minority in every district.

Your reviewer also implies that we support war, but neglects to mention the petitions and public demonstrations which featured in our peace work before the war.

ROBERT J. SCRUTTON

5 Endsleigh Place, W.C.1.

### The Editor to Correspondents:—

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

## Members write to the Editor about the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

**T**HE report of the Annual General Meeting in Peace News says nothing of the resolution to thank pacifists in Sheffield who have abstained from water for five days and lived on iron rations in the course of an experiment to aid seamen, and who are now undergoing further arduous experiments of the same character.

The treatment of this emergency resolution was less formal than the procedure in the case of the resolution on bombing. But I obtained the explicit assurance from the Chairman, who had taken the feeling of the delegates, that these congratulations to the Sheffield pacifists had the status of a resolution of the meeting.

I think that the intention of the meeting in singling out this group was not to ignore the equally heroic endeavours of many others. But the outstanding significance of the voluntary suffering undergone by the Sheffield pacifists is revealed in the deep impression it has made on a hostile or indifferent general public. Such a stirring of public conscience can be brought about by voluntary suffering when no other means of persuasion is alone sufficient, although such suffering must have a relevant purpose and be free from coercive intention.

How far large numbers of pacifists will, in any particular campaign, corporately and voluntarily undergo such sacrificial discipline to reinforce the appeal to reason by an appeal to conscience is perhaps the most urgent question of immediate policy before the Movement. We shall do well to meditate on Gandhi's statement, made thirty years ago and proved many times since in his campaign, that "self-suffering is the only true and effective means of securing lasting reforms."

ROY WALKER

58 Oakley St., S.W.3.

I note in the issue of May 1 that certain contributors look back with satisfaction on the AGM and I feel impelled to say why I differ.

The question which for pacifists must be fundamental was not touched on, namely, what steps are we taking towards the working out of a "moral alternative to war"? From our coign of vantage in society we maintain that evil can only be overcome by good. Yet are we not morally bound to look forward to the day when we shall find ourselves in the forefront, urging men to follow our example?

In India, Gandhi has done wonders in this field. But there is only one Gandhi, possessed of that dynamic power of goodness, the force without violence that is pacifism. For ourselves, we burke the problem of becoming efficient pacifists, not realizing that the pledge

we take demands from us superhuman efforts of good will, to counter the depths of evil inherent in German and Japanese fascism.

Yet the solution of the problem of reconciling our ends with the means at our disposal lies with the individual pacifist. The force that is not violence is latent in the individual and can be actualized by a simple non-theological "praxis" of meditation. Meditation is not a bolt-hole for cranks. It is, empirically, the only method whereby we can equip ourselves for our dedicated task—"ahimsa," or the redemption of men from violence through the non-compulsive power of goodness. It is the sober truth that advanced spirituality in small groups, coupled with asceticism (i.e. training) and voluntary poverty wield great influence over ordinary men.

Would it not be realistic, therefore, for groups to adopt the practice of group-meditation fitted into the economic framework of income-pooling, as the main plank in their platform?

H. WARDMAN

21 Wood Lane, Isleworth, Mdx.

At the AGM I made a brief appeal to all delegates to return to their Areas, Regions, and Groups determined to work as hard as possible along the lines of Area Development. I believe that an enthusiastic and energetic drive to develop the PPU would completely revitalize the movement and prepare it to take its proper place in the future.

Every individual member ought to appreciate his responsibilities to the Union and ought to make certain that he is doing his best to make effective the work it is trying to do. This can only be done if every pledger is properly linked up in the Individual-Group-Region-Area-Headquarters chain. The really active members will know already where, in their districts, this chain is weak, and I do urge them to do all they can to strengthen the weakness.

This is only one aspect of Area Development, but, I think, the most important. Unless and until we know there is a loyal co-operation between all parts of the PPU—co-operation undertaken with a proper sense of responsibility—it will not be possible to use to the full the potential moral and spiritual force of the movement.

In the East Midlands Area we have been doing our best to implement the policy of Area Development. Since November we have had a full-time organizer, and the results have been both illuminating and encouraging. It may be that our experiences would be of assistance to other Areas, Regions, or Groups, and if I can be of any help I shall be only too pleased. I should, however, appreciate a stamped addressed envelope with any inquiries.

HAROLD R. HIGGS

Chairman, East Midlands Area Committee  
186 Mere Rd., Leicester.





**THE** pitiable tale of refugees from famine-stricken Greece continues. The Times, May 4, reports that "4,200 of them, mostly women and children, who left their homes in sheer desperation because of lack of food" are on the Turkish coast near Smyrna while negotiations are going on between the Governments concerned with regard to their fate.

"There is a major issue at stake" says the report, commenting on Turkish efforts to get the refugees repatriated, "and that is the food situation in the Greek islands, which is becoming so bad that unless immediate relief is sent the whole population of them will probably be driven away towards the Turkish mainland, thus placing the Turkish Government in a very difficult position."

The scheme for the evacuation from Greece of a large number of Greek children has now diminished to "about 1,000 children and elderly civilians," according to the Telegraph, Ap. 29. Transport to and accommodation in Turkey is being provided by the Turkish Red Crescent.

#### SHORTAGE IN ITALY

A grave reference to food shortage is made in the de Stefani report of Mussolini's recent speech in Rome to prefects and officials. He declared (Times, Ap. 29) "that the most important internal problem was that of food. 'This problem' he said 'is common to other countries where it is often more acute than in Italy.' He then referred to measures which would be adopted to ensure a supply of bread for the Italian people."

This reference, together with the recent severe cuts in German rations, and the statement of Mr. Dingle Foot which he made last week, suggest that the recent Economist article which indicated the conditions in which Germany might be able to feed all German Europe after next year was making large assumptions.

The Economist itself of a week later (Ap. 11), reporting the drastic cuts in German rations, stated that "stocks have been consumed because of two bad harvests and the possibility of a third poor harvest in 1942" dictated the utmost economy. Since the outbreak of war, "normal consumers" in Germany have had their bread ration cut by 21%, their total meat ration cut by 57%, and their total fats by 51%. While these figures still compare favourably with the rations of 1917-18, it would appear that there is small possibility of hungry Europe drawing substantial relief this year from Germany.

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## THE WORD

Edited by GUY A. ALDRED.

May Issue. "Gowrie" cartoon: Reformers and War. Civil liberties in the Colonies by A. Creech Jones M.P. Martyrdom of The People by F. W. Jowett. Inequality of Consumption by C. H. Norman. Conscription of Women. Our Responsibility by Rev. H. J. Dale. Herbert Morrison and the C.O. Tribunal. New Zealand C.O.s. Lord Marnham on Imperialism. War Time Neutrality by Alexander Ratcliffe. Civil Defence Charges. House of Lords discussion on "Daily Worker" Ban. Editor's reply to Lord Vansittart in an open letter to the Lord Chancellor. Duke of Bedford and "The Word." Other items. Supplies Restricted. Order Now.

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### Facts that prove

## Britain Never Disarmed

MANY people now are saying, "If only we had not disarmed and left ourselves so weak, this war would never have happened." The actual armament figures of this country for the past years are as follows:

Year	£ millions
1913-14	77
1924-25	114
1925-26	119
1926-27	116
1927-28	117
1928-29	113
1929-30	113
(London Naval Treaty signed 1930)	
1930-31	110
(Price levels fell nearly 40% during the period 1924-30)	
1931-32	107
1932-33	102
1933-34	107
(1931-4 was the period of the "financial crisis")	
1934-35	113
1935-36	136
1936-37	186
1937-38	283
1938-39	406
1939-40 (estimates)	580

These figures were given in Peace News, June 30, 1939, by Frank R. Hancock in an article in which he pointed out that in 1931,

The German fleet was non-existent, and the British, American, and Japanese fleets regulated by the ratio of 5:5:3. Britain, then, was the only European Power with a great battleship fleet, consisting of 15 super-dreadnoughts (three of them, the Nelson, the Rodney, and the Hood, still unmatched in the navies of the world), which alone cost £7,000,000 a year in upkeep.

In 1936 Mr. Winston Churchill said: "Of the British Fleet I can speak with particular assurance. It is certainly far stronger in relation to any fleet, or combination of fleets in Europe, than it was in 1914."

No disarmament followed the Disarmament Conference of 1932-4. The Manchester Guardian (June 15, 1934) said:

Not a gun, not a tank, not an aeroplane (not to speak of submarines and battleships) will be scrapped for all the two years and four months that the Conference has sat.

### Pacifist from Malaya

A SUBSCRIBER, formerly resident in Johore, writes to us: "You will be interested to hear that I got away safely from Singapore with my two children, and that the loss of my brother, my house, and possessions, and the possible loss of my husband (nothing has been heard of him since the fall), his job, and in fact pretty well everything, leaves me a more convinced pacifist than ever."

#### TO METHODISTS

The Methodist Peace Fellowship is undertaking a careful revision of its membership records. In view of the dislocation caused by removal, evacuation, and other causes at this time, it is particularly desired not to remove the names of any with whom touch may have been lost, but who still wish to retain their membership. News would therefore be appreciated of those who have not received MPF communications for some time or who, on their part, have not communicated with the office at Kingsway Hall for a long while. In addition, if any reader should know of any such, information would be gratefully received on this point. Please write to the Secretaries, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, London, W.C.2.

#### GOOSE GREEN FARM

The first Annual General Meeting of Goose Green Farm Ltd. was held at the farm on March 25. The Chairman (Harold Bing) reported that the venture might now be considered to be in a reasonably healthy condition, and prospects for the future satisfactory. Staff difficulties had been overcome; but there was still urgent need of additional working capital. An average of 6 men and 3 women had been employed during the year. The aims of Goose Green are (1) to train C.O.s for land-work; (2) to build up a farm community group; (3) to contribute towards the re-establishment of rural and agricultural society after the war; and (4) to encourage "cultivation not exploitation" of the soil. The Secretary is Vincent Burston, FCA, 6 King Square, Bridgwater, Somerset.

Contents of the April-June number of the new quarterly Adelphi (1/6 post free, from The Adelphi Centre, Langham, nr. Colchester) include: "Perspectives," an essay on Progress, by J. Middleton Murry; "The Future of India," by A. D. Cohen; "Oriental About-Turn," by Jack Common; "Two Parables," by J. H. Watson; "The Artist and the Community," by W. B. Wordsworth; and "The War-Poetry of Edward Thomas," by R. Faulds; other contributions—poems, reviews and a short story—by Ethel Mannin, Alex Comfort, A. de Selincourt, William Soutar, J. P. Hogan, Maimie Griffiths, etc. Readers should order their copies soon, the last number being nearly sold out.

WHEN J. E. Jones, Secretary of the Welsh Nationalist Party, was prosecuted at Caernarvon on April 27 for refusing to be medically examined, the magistrates fined him £5, with two guineas costs, but declined to make an order for him to submit to examination.

The magistrates have a discretion as to making such an order, but this is the first case in which it has been exercised in that way. J. E. Jones remains liable to be served with a further medical notice, if the Ministry think it proper to do so.

#### RELEASED FROM

##### PENAL SERVITUDE

Leslie A. Monaghan, an Irish Nationalist, was recommended for discharge from the Forces by the Appellate Tribunal on condition that he went to Eire. This he could not do, as the British Passport Office refused him an exit permit. Thereupon, Leslie Monaghan was called up again for the Army and later sentenced by court-martial to three years' penal servitude.

When he appeared again before the Appellate Tribunal early in April, he was represented by Mr. Gerald Gardiner, one of the foremost junior counsel in the country. Leslie Monaghan's application has been successful and he has been conditionally registered as a C.O., the balance of the three years' sentence being remitted.

#### OVER THE MAXIMUM

When Cecil Santini, of Wood Green, was summoned at Wood Green on April 17 for refusing to register for fire-watching, the Bench sentenced him to six months' imprisonment and a fine of £20. He registered a strong protest against this but was taken away to the cells.

Later, however, he was brought back and it was announced that, in view of the fact that the maximum sentence a police court could impose for that offence was three months' imprisonment and/or a fine of £100, Santini would be sentenced to three months and a fine of £20 with a further two months if the fine were not paid.

Cecil Santini, who had previously been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for refusing to be medically examined, was doing voluntary fire-watching.

For refusing to obey an order to submit to medical examination, Anthony Edward Smith, a clerk, of Cuffley, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment at North London Police Court, Ap. 29, the magistrate pointing out that he could now appeal again to the Appellate Tribunal.

#### GUIDE FOR THE C.O.

There is no doubt that a good many C.O.s could put up a much better case if they had an exact knowledge of what they are up against, or if they knew where they could find people able and willing to help them.

With this in mind, the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors (6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1) has published a sixpenny pamphlet, "The C.O. and the National Service Acts." It is, we believe, the only one dealing in detail with the provisions of the National Service Acts as they affect the C.O., the questions he is likely to be asked at the Tribunal, and his best line of behaviour both before and after he has faced it.

We recommend this booklet not only to the C.O., actual or prospective, but to all those interested in helping him through his ordeal.

#### ADVISORY BUREAUX

Bethnal Green (covering E.2).—Charles Haworth, Friends Hall, 36 Barnet Grove, E.2. Central London bureau now covers W.1. instead of N.W.5. Central London District Secretary is J. Ashton.

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ACCOMMODATION in pacifist home for C.O. wanting land work. Work available in district. Claypit Cottages, Foxearth, Sudbury, Suffolk.

C.O.s marrying shortly, seek flat, bungalow or house to let, inexpensive; within 20 miles Central London. Gandy, 8 Dean's Drive, Edgware.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

INVALID widow seeks home with retired nurse or one who understands the needs of an invalid. Not bed-ridden. London, S.W.16 or 17 preferred. Box 251 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PROGRESSIVE home and school seeking wider scope and accommodation desire information suitable buildings West England (20-30 children) and invite communication from pacifist owning farm interested education and co-operation with school with knowledge such accommodation nearby. Box 224 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

TOM and DORIS BROWN welcome paying guests at Vivova Farm, Somerton, in the sunny Vale of Taunton. Full board 30s. per week; reduced terms to ex-gaol C.O.s. Bookings by letter to Cooper, 47 Netherlands Rd., New Barnet.

WOMAN pacifist teacher would like to share in rooms, flat, or house in or near Oxford. Box 254 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG COUPLE, vegetarians, want furnished flat, rooms, London, Hampstead preferred. Box 252 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

#### EDUCATIONAL

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#### LITERATURE, &c

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

READ The Grailist League: a Foundation by Alfred Hy. Haffenden. A program of individual life and group action. The C. W. Daniel Co., Ltd., Ashington, Rochford, Essex. 1s. 2d. post paid.

VERA BRITAIN'S Letter to Peace Lovers (fortnightly) stands for civilized values in a world at war. Send for specimen copy or subscription (2s. 6d. for six months) to 2 Talbot Place, S.E.8.

#### MEETINGS &c.

"CONQUERING—AND TO CONQUER." A lecture by the Rev. B. C. Plowright B.A., B.D., at the Methodist Church, Hinde Street, W.1. (behind Selfridge's). Tues., May 19, 7 p.m. An attempt to re-see the Christian faith with special reference to modern life. Further particulars from the London Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation 165 Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.1.

LIBERTY! EQUALITY! FRATERNITY! Public Conference, Sat., May 16, 2.30-7.30 p.m. at Watling Centre, Orange Hill Rd., Burnt Oak, Edgware. Speakers: Barbara Duncan Harris, Dorothy Evans, Andrew Stewart. Chairman: Sybil Morrison. Teas obtainable. Edgware Women's Peace Aims Study Group.

MUST EUROPE STARVE? Hear Helen Byles Ford, Wed., May 13, at 7.30 Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds.

#### PERSONAL

MEN VOLUNTEERS wanted, one or more nights per week, C.O. fire squad, Manchester hospital (102 beds). Write Harold Higham, "Glanbyrdan," Broadway, Fairfield, Manchester.

#### SITUATIONS VACANT

COUPLE genuinely and ambitiously interested in the land vocationally and able, with free unfurnished cottage and requisites, to manage weekly on wage for joint services (wife light) of about 50s., are offered same with share of profits and specified prospects in young couple's fully equipped and established small fruit, vegetable, and stock farm in tranquil inland S.E. area. Competent shorthand-typing would be useful, but some experience of land work and its physical exactions essential. Please write fully in first instance, including age, to BM/ABE, W.C.1.

PACIFIST FARMER requires odd-job man; willingness main qualification; full board and pocket money. Noted Cheshire beauty spot. Box 241 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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C.O. (40), single, desires employment in market gardening etc. No previous experience; unused to manual work, but active and willing. Any district. Box 253 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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